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is submitted to the Chamber. The amount is 15,673 francs.

Mr. Hubbard: I am happy to see that we are coming to an agreement. I for one do not complain of the increase in the amount since last year, and I certainly think you will not complain. As to putting the item into the budget, it seems that with the aid of the amount of the previous year you might have put it in in advance.

In place of showing this sort of coldness toward this institution, I shall ask you to go further and to consider that this matter is not one simply of material expense, but that it has a moral significance. I shall ask you to imitate the conduct of Sweden, of Norway, of Switzerland, and of Denmark, which for several years have put into their budgets a very modest subvention of a thousand francs for the Permanent Peace Bureau at Berne, a universal institution in which participate all the peace associations, the jurists, the international law institutes, etc., which throughout the world are laboring in the direction which I am indicating.

Finally, Mr. Minister of Foreign Affairs, since you seem to be entering upon the pathway of concession and coöperation, I hope you will recognize with us that the French Republic ought to occupy itself with the constitution of a regular system of international law, which will be the object of the decisions of the Hague Court. I hope that you will be able, either alone or in concert with the Minister of Justice, to appoint a preparatory commission analogous to that proposed by Mr. Asser and other jurisconsults, in order that gradually there may be created a body of rules and regulations no longer purely conventional and between a few of the states, but established by the entire body of states which constitute the juridic society of the civilized nations, which it is desirable to have take the place of the ancient alliances, which by force and violence disputed with one another for the empire of the globe.

It is of importance, as well, that this should be done in the interests of our citizens abroad, who are often not properly cared for. An organized system of international justice, such as I have spoken of, would make it easy to bring immediate aid to those abroad who have reason to complain of injustice.

Our democracy, which desires to have established a regular juridic organization between the nations, knows very well that from the historic point of view it is from special events that law arises; but it is to be hoped that hereafter law will, on the other hand, direct events.

This hope the French Republic ought to encourage in an effective way by its decisions and its votes. The Chamber should invite the Government not to increase further the military and naval expenses, and to enter upon negotiations with a view to a limitation of these expenses. France ought not to wait always for another country to take the initiative in calling international conferences. I ask the government of the French Republic to aid this great movement which is spreading throughout the entire world, and not to put any obstacles in its way, but to give it its complete and cordial support.

Reciprocity with Canada.

From an Address of Hon. Samuel W. McCall.

At the annual dinner of the Merchant's Association of Boston on December 10th the subject of reciprocity with Canada was discussed. The speakers were Senator John W. Daniel of Virginia, Senator Quarles of Wisconsin, Governor Cummins of Iowa (whose speech, in his absence, was read by Hon. C. S. Hamlin), Mr. C. S. Mellen, President of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, and Hon. Samuel W. McCall, member of Congress from Massachusetts. Mr. McCall's speech was in that lofty spirit which characterizes all his utterances, and was in substance as follows:

"At a meeting of the merchants of Boston I know of no more fitting subject to talk upon than our trade relations with the great country to the northward, which is our nearest neighbor. Canada, according to her population, is by far the best customer this nation has in the world. She buys of us about \$125,000,000 worth of goods each year, which is more than twice as much in the aggregate as we sell to the whole of Central and South America, with Mexico and the Philippine Islands thrown in. Her relations with us are so intimate and so peculiar that a reciprocal trade arrangement would not be subject to any of those objections, some of them sound and some fantastic, which are commonly urged against reciprocity agreements.

"Important lines of railroads and navigable rivers run from the interior of one country into or alongside the other, while the chain of great lakes lying between the two countries invite to commerce and make difficult of enforcement any of the ordinary restraints upon international trade.

"She has similar institutions and similar peoples. Her climate, which has a most important bearing upon industry, supplements our own.

"Products vary in character more upon lines of longitude than of latitude, and industries of a northern and a southern people are less likely to conflict with each other than those of nations which lie side by side upon the same parallels of latitude. The sun and birds do not more naturally migrate to the one country in the summer and return again to the other in the winter than do the natural currents of trade run across the border which separates Canada from the United States.

"If we are to be kept apart it must be purely by the decrees of the statesmen and in defiance of all the laws of nature. If there can ever be a case where the special interests and desires of two neighboring peoples should be considered in adjusting the trade relations, that case exists here.

"Our trade with Canada has been of modern growth, and the story of it is quickly told. Before 1847 her preferential tariffs in favor of Great Britain confined almost all of her foreign commerce to that country. So late as 1850 the total trade going both ways between Canada and the United States was less than \$5,000,000 a year.

"In 1854 we entered into a trade policy with reference to Canada by which free exchange was confined largely to natural products.

"By the action of the United States this treaty was abrogated in 1866. The tendency of trade between the

two countries since then is very striking. Although Canada's foreign commerce has increased marvelously, so that to-day it is more than twice as great per capita as that of the United States, yet, leaving out gold and silver, her exports to the United States in the last fiscal years were only \$43,000,000, or even less than she exported during the last year of the treaty thirty-six years ago.

"On the other hand, she imported from the United States more than \$120,000,000 worth, or more than four times as much as she took from us during the last year of the treaty.

"It will be seen that this growth was absolutely one-sided. How was it accomplished? The force of tariffs in diverting trade, especially if you make them high enough, is strongly illustrated here.

"Canada admitted more than one-half of all she took from us, or about \$60,000,000 worth, free of duty, and her average duty upon all of the importations from this country was only about 12½ per cent.

"Her duty upon those articles upon which a duty was charged was about 25 per cent., and the average duty upon the great lines of dutiable imports from Canada was 50 per cent. These relative customs duties have been especially adapted to admitting our products into Canada and to excluding Canada's products from our markets.

"On the other hand, the products of Canada have had free entrance into Great Britain, with the result that while she sold to Great Britain in 1866 only \$16,000,000 worth of goods, in 1902 she sold that country \$117,000,000 worth of goods, while she bought from Great Britain hardly \$50,000,000, or only one-quarter more than in 1866. Unless we proceed upon the theory that we are to buy everything and sell nothing, we must expect Canada to cultivate more intimate trade relations with the great nation which buys so largely of her product and of which she is practically a part.

"A crisis has been reached in the commercial relations of Canada, and as one of the greatest men she ever had, and one who is a friend of the United States, recently wrote to me, it is for the United States to decide whether the face of Canada shall be turned to her own continent or to Europe. Indeed, it is not clear that the crisis is not already passed. From the time of the abrogation of the treaty of 1854 until a half-dozen years ago Canada stood in our ante-room as a suppliant and was treated with scant courtesy, and by the time the present commission was appointed she had so far adapted herself to existing trade conditions, her desire for reciprocity had so far abated, that she was willing to make it secondary to the question of the Alaskan boundary. That difference is now out of the way, and we should at least make a resolute attempt to settle the reciprocity question also by reconvening the joint high commission upon which New England has so admirable a representative as Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge.

"Undoubtedly greater preferences to Great Britain will divert more of Canada's trade into British channels. The process will be unnatural, but high tariffs will go far toward accomplishing it. Canada has vast stores of material for which there will soon be a pressing need in the United States. We already need her lumber. She has in Cape Breton great areas of coal with deposits in some

cases seventy feet in thickness — areas which, if developed, would supply the demands of the nearby regions of Canada and of the United States for centuries to come. This coal lies almost in Boston Harbor. It is not equal to our own coal, but it would be more economical in many instances than to pay the high freight rates necessary from our domestic coal fields. The coal question between the two countries is largely one of freight. In the central part of the country we send vast quantities of our own coal into Canada and on the Atlantic coast we would save greatly in freight rates to import more coal from Canada. The removal of the duty in each country against the coal of the other would result in increased exportation of American coal to central Canada and of Canadian coal to New England and the Pacific States. It is true that the temporary removal of the coal duty last winter did not increase the imports from Canada, but nothing else could have been expected in the condition then existing. Our coal strike had created a famine in Canada, and an increased price for coal there as well as in the United States. The surplus of Canada was demanded at home, and no one would imagine that new coal mines could be opened in a day or that the production of Canada could be substantially increased within the short period for which the duty was removed and for a mere temporary market.

"It is urged against reciprocity with Canada that such an arrangement would be unconstitutional. I do not propose to attempt any constitutional argument. There is no one who disbelieves more profoundly than I do in the theory that under the guise of making treaties taxes may be levied upon the American people. The taxing power of the United States is lodged in Congress, and not in the President and Senate, providing they can secure the coöperation of some foreign potentate. The representatives of the people have a special power in taxation which cannot be ignored, if we are to continue in business as a representative government.

"But it by no means follows from that that a reciprocity arrangement, if properly entered into, is unconstitutional. There has not yet been found a constitutional lawyer sharp enough to make the point of unconstitutionality against the procedure in the case of Cuba. The duties established in the Cuban treaty had no vitality whatever without action by Congress. A bill was originated in the House of Representatives establishing the schedule of duties set forth in the treaty, and when that bill shall have passed the Senate and been approved by the President, it will be as regularly enacted as any tariff law that was ever passed and will have the force of law. Such a procedure as that can be adopted with reference to Canada or any other country.

"The assumption that Canadian reciprocity is almost entirely for the benefit of New England is an assumption purely, and there is no particle of ground in this case for the well worn rebuke that New England must be careful how she asks for concessions which would not be equally as advantageous to the rest of the country. I suppose it is a fact that Canadian reciprocity is more strongly desired by sections remote from New England. Some statistics recently put forth by a distinguished opponent of that policy showed a larger percentage of farmers asking for it from the Central and Pacific States than from New England, and it is a matter of history

that among the leaders in this movement have been statesmen from the Middle West, like Sherman, Butterworth and Hitt, and Governor Cummins of Iowa.

"But even if it were for the exclusive benefit of New England, it would be none the less proper that her representatives should voice her needs, expecting and asking that the representatives from the rest of the country should speak for their own sections, so that the great result might recognize the particular interests of the different states, so far as they were not inconsistent with the general welfare.

"I believe that Canadian reciprocity has some peculiar benefits for New England. We are in a remote corner of the country, and there is a danger that the important currents of trade may swing farther and farther from us. It is vitally important that we should keep open to our trade those vast areas to the north. With full Canadian reciprocity, New England would become commercially a central state instead of being in a corner.

"I do not know as it matters to this audience whether reciprocity is Republican or Democratic doctrine, but, speaking from my standpoint, I would say that it certainly is not un-Republican doctrine. It can be supported by the highest Republican authority. I have referred to the great speech of President McKinley at Buffalo, which is a trumpet blast in favor of reciprocity. I might also refer to another gentleman whose name is identified with the great tariff law which has been in successful operation for a much longer period than the law which bore the name of President McKinley. I refer to one of the best equipped American statesmen of modern times—Nelson Dingley. As a member of the joint high commission he was a strong advocate of a genuine reciprocity arrangement with Canada, a course which was in direct line with the policy of the tariff law which bears his name. The ancient slur that those who favor reciprocity are free traders in disguise would cast a reproach upon the orthodoxy of the greatest protectionist statesmen in the United States. I can hardly esteem those gentlemen the soundest friends of protection who serenely repose upon the safety valve and invite revolutionary revision by insisting upon the perpetual sacredness of a set of tariff schedules. But whether or not it is Republican doctrine, I believe that it is American doctrine, and that it is a doctrine whose application would be for the benefit of the United States, and especially of New England.

"This, in brief, is the case of Canadian reciprocity as a business and economic proposition. But there is much more in it than the deductions that are made from schedules, or than the small amount per capita to the people of each country that there would be in an increased trade. If political union ever comes, it will be an ill-omened union if it comes by force, or in any other way than through the mutual interests and desires of the two peoples. A single mistake in policy between two nations may have an effect almost irreparable.

"I believe it is due to the expedition sent into Canada during our revolution, sent not against Canada, but against Great Britain, that Canada did not long ago become a part of the United States. The troublesome Alaskan boundary question has just been settled. It is true it was settled in a way that left a trace of irritation. Canada did not get the territory. She is not without the glory, for, instead of choosing, as her 'impartial

jurists of repute' called for by the treaty, three commissioners who would 'stand pat,' she selected as one of them no less a jurist than the Lord Chief Justice of England, and it was through him that the decision was reached. I believe the American case could safely have been intrusted to a commission with at least one of our members from the Supreme Court of the United States, whose reputation as a jurist had penetrated beyond the Canadian border and would have been a guarantee of judicial action, and Canada could then have been satisfied that she had a fair chance at one of our commissioners, as we surely had at one of hers. A suspicion of a cold deck is not apt to make a cheerful loser.

"But however that may be, the boundary dispute has been adjusted. Irritation at the result is not likely to last. Immigration is pouring into British Columbia from the United States just as it is pouring into our country from Canada. Add to the tremendous influences that are pulling the two countries together, the entangling web that is woven by reciprocal trade, and the inevitable day will be more quickly reached when the two countries shall be politically one. Those same peoples of that cold northern region may become vitally necessary to the United States. We are reaching out more and more toward the equator. Tropical archipelagoes and isthmuses are displacing the centre of gravity of our system and throwing it each year nearer the tropics. These tendencies, made more formidable by our race problems, are drawing us toward the limit of the belt of free representative government, and if they continue unchecked they may work a radical change in the character of our institutions.

"Reciprocity with Canada, therefore, is a policy of justice, of prosperity and of hope for our political future."

Pamphlets Received.

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN ON AN ANNUAL PEACE AND ARBITRATION DEMONSTRATION. Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Indianapolis, Indiana.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH INTERNATIONAL PRISON CONGRESS. By Hon. Samuel J. Barrows of New York, Commissioner for the United States.

LA POLITIQUE ET LES EVENEMENTS EN EXTREME-ORIENT. A study of the Relations of Europe to China. P. Edger, 80 rue des Martyrs, Paris, France.

LA JUSTICE INTERNATIONALE. No. 3. Revue Mensuelle des Travaux et Decisions de la Cour Permanente d'Arbitrage et des Questions de Droit International. Gustave Hubbard, Directeur, 3 rue Chaptal, Paris, France.

THE VENEZUELA ARBITRATION: Great Britain, Germany and Italy vs. Venezuela, the United States, Mexico, France, Spain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Sweden and Norway. Opening Argument and Reply for the United States. By William L. Penfield, Solicitor of the State Department.

LE MOUVEMENT PACIFIQUE ET LE RAPPROCHEMENT FRANCO-ANGLAIS. Extrait de *La Revue*, Paris, November, 1903. By P. d'Estournelles de Constant.

LA GUERRE DU TRANSVAAL ET LES PREDICTIONS DE JEAN DE BLOCH. By "Un Temoin." Berne, Switzerland, Imprimerie Buchler Co. Bureau International de la Paix. A brochure of 88 pages in which the author demonstrates clearly from the official reports of the Transvaal war that the predictions of Jean de Bloch as to war with present highly perfected arms were fully realized during this long campaign.

Form of Bequest.

I hereby give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, Boston, a corporation established under the laws of the State of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be employed by the Directors of said Society for the promotion of the cause of peace.